FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NOVEMBER 14, 1914

Drawn by
Nina E. Allender

WOMEN CANNOT FIGHT

Vol. II NOVEMBER 14, 1914. No. 46

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Review of the Week

Election Returns

DEFINITE information as to the election figures has not yet been received from any of the districts in the Western States where the Congressional Union carried on its campaign against the Democratic candidates for Congress. Returns which have been received indicate an even greater reduction in the pluralities of the Democratic candidates than had been believed to be the case from the earlier reports.

First Birthday of the *Suffragist*

WITH this issue the *Suffragist* completes the first year of its existence. It has already, in its short life, exercised a considerable influence on the suffrage thought of its time, and has stirred many women to increased endeavor in the work for the Federal Amendment. Its circulation has steadily increased and has grown fifteen hundred since the first of June. We ask all members of the Union to join with us in a sincere effort to develop the paper into an instrument which will meet the possibilities that are open to it.

The Dansant

A SPECIAL feature of the Thé Dansant to be given in Washington by the Congressional Union, November 27th, is a poster that Mr. William E. Schumacher has painted especially for the occasion. Dr. Monroe Hopkins will auction it during the afternoon.

Miss Ann Hopkins and a number of the younger set will be in charge of a flower table. Miss Hopkins is acting as chairman. A table of home-made candy will be in charge of Miss Emily K. Perry.

Three feature dances have been arranged. Miss Herriott and Mr. Morgan will dance the half-and-half and Brazilian polka; Miss Garrett and Miss Falconer, the Pavlowa gavotte, and Miss Elizabeth Reynolds a Russian dance.

In lieu of boxes the general committee have decided to have special reserved tables from which the dancing can be seen. Tables reserved for four will be sold at $3.00; for six, $5,00, and single tickets at a dollar. Mrs. Monroe Hopkins is acting as chairman.

Mrs. George Odell will have charge of the tickets on the afternoon of the Thé Dansant and Mrs. Christian Hemmick and Mrs. John Jay White will receive.

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

MISS KATE GORDON was re-elected President at the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference held at Chattanooga November 10th and 11th. The other newly-elected officers are: Vice-President at Large, Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.; Secretaries, Mrs. John B. Parker, New Orleans, and Miss Nellie N. Somerville, Greenville, Miss.; Treasurer, Mrs. H. B. Bartlett, Louisiana; auditors, Mrs. C. E. Elliott, Maryland, and Mrs. D. P. Montague, Tennessee. State Vice-Presidents—Alabama, Mrs. William Murdock; Arkansas, Mrs. M. A. Land; District of Columbia, Mrs. W. M. Stoner; Florida, Mrs. Mary A. Safford; Georgia, Mrs. Madeline Wyly; Kentucky, Mrs. A. M. Harrison; Louisiana, Mrs. Celeste Carruth; Maryland, Mrs. W. E. Poe; Mississippi, Mrs. Annie Dent; Missouri, Mrs. Walter M. Miller; North Carolina, Mrs. Archibald Henderson; Oklahoma, Mrs. Adele Stevens; South Carolina, Mrs. C. A. Coleman; Tennessee, Mrs. A. S. Buchanan; Texas, Mrs. Ellinor Brackenridge; Virginia, Mrs. John H. Lewis.

Honorary Vice-Presidents are Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, New York; Miss Mary Johnston, Virginia, and Mrs. Helen Gardner, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, a Southerner by birth, though now living in the North, made the principal address of the convention.

"We suffragists have progressed so far," said Mrs. Belmont "that we are actually disagreeing about the terms upon which we shall accept the vote—the inevitable premonition of victory. I am not particular how the political emancipation of women is effected. I have sworn allegiance to the national amendment for woman suffrage, while the Southern conference seems to hold to the principles of State rights. If the latter method proves effective, I shall gratefully accept the results."

This sentiment was indorsed by the half dozen other speakers, including Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, of New York, and Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky.

The immediate object of the Southern States woman suffrage conference is to make the Democratic party declare for "votes for women," in its next national platform, Miss Kate Gordon, of New Orleans, told the convention. Miss Gordon said President Wilson had stated he was helpless to act and that any expression on suffrage for women must come from the party. She declared now was the time to seek that expression from the Democrats.

"We Southern suffragists believe," continued Miss Gordon, "that if the Democratic Party declares for woman suffrage it will mean a veritable suffrage landslide within the next five or six years."

Convention of the National American Suffrage Association

THE program of the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association opened with the informal conference of the National Executive Council on Wednesday morning, November 11th. The first session of the convention was held the following morning, at which the address of welcome was delivered by Hilary E. Howse, Mayor of Nashville. The morning was occupied in hearing reports of committees, the afternoon session was devoted to the Congressional report, and the evening session at which the President's address was delivered by Dr Anna Howard Shaw was in the nature of a celebration of the victory in Nevada and Montana.

Senator Luke Lea, of Tennessee, addressed the convention on Friday night.

The program of the convention, in brief, is as follows:

Friday—Presentation of budget; Report of Executive Secretary; Reports on the Press Bureau and on Literature Corporation.

Friday Evening—Program arranged by the National Men's League, James Lees Laidlow, presiding.

Saturday—Nominations of officers; Greetings from Southern States, Woman Suffrage Conference, by Miss Kate M. Gordon; Reports on Presidential and Church Suffrage.

Saturday Evening—Addresses on the State and National Campaigns, by Mrs. Glenna Smith Tinnin, Washington; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Massachusetts; Mrs. Antoinette Funk, of National Congressional Committee, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Miss Zona Gale will read an original story.

Sunday—Mass meeting at Ryman Auditorium, at which Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary, and Mrs. Desha Breckinridge will speak.

Monday—Adoption of budget and fund raising; Report of Resolutions Committee and election of officers.

Tuesday—Meeting of the National Executive Council.

A New Suffrage Paper

THE *Woman Suffrage Party News*, published by the Woman Suffrage Party of Rhode Island, under the editorship of Mrs. James Algeo, president of the Woman Suffrage Party, is the latest paper to be added to the list of suffrage organs. It plans to concentrate on work for the presidential suffrage which is at present the principal line of endeavor of Rhode Island Suffragists. The Democratic, Progressive, Prohibition and Socialist parties of Rhode Island all have planks declaring for woman suffrage. A large element in the Republican Party supported such a plank. The Governor is pledged unequivocally in favor of suffrage and a large proportion of the Legislature is pledged to its support. Mrs. Algeo, in her leading article in the opening issue of the paper, says:

"While constitutional amendments will be submitted in 1915 in four Eastern States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the honor will be given us, should our legislature grant the Presidential Suffrage Bill this year, of leading the thirteen original States by about six months in this very valuable form of suffrage.

"The psychological moment has arrived. Let us pray that Rhode Island may this year earn for herself an honorable place in the history of this stupendous woman movement."

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How Montana Was Won

By Mary E. O'Neill, Press Chairman, Montana State Suffrage Association

THE woman suffrage campaign in Montana flourished like the sage brush—it grew and grew in spite of rain or drouth, or anti-suffrage campaigners from New York, Ohio and other states.

Jeannette Rankin, Montana's own daughter, was chairman of the State Central Committee, our organization being that of a political party, as it is the most effective method of getting at the greatest number of voters in the shortest time. Around Miss Rankin centered all the work throughout the state. Women came and went from and to every part of each county. They held public and private meetings, every form of educational and social entertainment, including receptions and teas. In fact, every manner of reaching the people in a pleasing way was utilized. Western women are not afraid of distances, obstacles, or difficulties. Editors were bearded in their dens, reporters captured, and all converted. Boats, stage lines, broncos, pinto ponies, automobiles, even sprinting, were some of the methods of transportation used to reach the men and reason with them on the question until they saw that to grant the vote to women meant that they give to their own flesh and blood a natural and a human right—the right to think and to act in helping make the laws under which they all must live and be protected.

MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN
President of the Montana Suffrage Association

Great mountains, vast forests, wide valleys, immense resources call for unusual men. Montana has these men. The women here know they must reason with their men—not wheedle, cajole, pray, or influence through sex, as so ardently advocated by the "antis." Therefore, leaflets worth reading, speakers worth listening to, organizers who can organize, were all used in Montana. Money was the thing needed most for such a campaign; women gave their time and service without pay, but few of them were rich enough to pay their own expenses.

Jeannette Rankin is a whirlwind worker, a young woman with the temperament of those who suffer and conquer, and she inspires trust in her sincerity and unselfish work. She returned from New York last January and began to organize Montana for the campaign. She organized the counties and hundreds of smaller centers where many women who were alive with the force of progress proved a tremendous asset in the campaign.

The work was tremendous. And it won the day.

The same force of character that is making a material empire out of forests, valleys and lands, only a few years ago the habitat of wild animals and Indians, will now be guided by men and women into building a moral and spiritual empire, equally great.

National Suffrage and the Race Problem

AMONG the objections that have been raised in an attempt to defeat the Federal Amendment enfranchising women is the one that it will complicate the race problem.

Without passing on the merits of the methods of preventing the Negroes from exercising the right of the franchise, we will take up the consideration of the situation as it would be today if the women of the South became enfranchised. If the subject is given careful consideration it will become evident that the enfranchising of all women will increase the relative power of the white race in a most remarkable way.

Quoting the United States Census of 1914, we find the proportion of white women to negro women and of white women to the whole negro population as follows:

State	Total Negro Population	White Women	Negro Women	Negro Men	Preponderance of White Over Negro Women
Del....	31,181	83,715	15,170	16,011	68,545
Md....	232,250	533,567	117,501	114,749	416,066
D. C...	94,446	121,127	51,831	42,615	69,396
Va....	671,096	685,446	340,554	330,542	344,892
N. C...	697,843	745,659	358,262	339,581	387,397
S. C...	835,847	335,617	427,769	408,078	–92,152
Ga....	1,176,987	707,314	596,724	580,263	110,590
Fla....	308,669	211,089	147,307	161,362	63,782
Miss...	1,009,487	384,055	506,691	502,796	–122,636
Ala....	908,282	602,941	460,488	447,794	142,453
Tenn..	473,088	841,810	239,378	233,710	602,432
Ky....	261,656	997,918	130,164	131,492	867,754
Ark...	452,891	544,606	219,568	233,323	325,038
La....	713,874	460,626	360,050	353,824	100,576
Tex...	691,049	1,533,411	345,108	345,941	1,188,303

To sum up, in the fifteen states below the Mason and Dixon line there are 8,788,901 white women, while there are only 4,316,565 negro women, or 4,472,336 more white women than negro women in "Dixie." Not only that, but the total negro population of these fifteen states is only 8,294,274, so that the white women alone outnumber the entire negro population by 494,627.

In only two of these states, South Carolina and Mississippi, are there more negro women than white women, but the same condition exists for the men, and white supremacy could continue to be maintained by the same means as now prevails in these states. The race question would be in no way altered by equal suffrage.

In South Carolina the voter must be able to read and must own and pay taxes on three hundred dollars worth of property. In Mississippi the elector must be able to read the Constitution. The illiteracy of the Southern negro, and especially of those living in the most densely populated sections, is so well-known that it must become evident at once that any educational requirement will prevent a large section of that race from voting.

In four other of the states of the so-called "Black Belt," Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, there are more white women than negro women in each of the states, and there is also a very high requirement for the voting qualification. In Georgia a voter must fill out a registration blank, unaided. He must be able to read and write, or he must own property to the amount of forty acres, or have five hundred dollars in personal property. In Louisiana, he must be able to read and write, or if he cannot, he must then have had ancestors who voted before January first, 1867, and he must, himself, have registered before 1898. In Florida the literacy test is required. In Alabama, there is a rather unusual requirement. A man may vote if he can read and write, and if he owns forty acres or has three hundred dollars *or if his wife does.* If the fact that his wife owns property entitles him to vote, why should it not also qualify her? These tests are such that of necessity many cannot meet them today, neither negro men nor negro women.

In all the other nine Southern States, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, District of Columbia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas, there are more white women than there are negroes, both men and women, in the state.

An honest study of the race problem, and a comparative study of statistics will convince the student that equal suffrage would go far towards solving this vexed problem, for enfranchising women would not only increase the white vote, but would vastly raise the educational and moral standard of the voters, for, eliminating those negroes born and raised in slave days, the number of illiterate men, both black and white, in the southern states, far exceeds the number of illiterate women. The statistics for crime and immorality are the same in the south as elsewhere, male criminals greatly outnumbering the female. Therefore, it must be at once evident from these facts that the negro question would not be complicated but greatly simplified by the enfranchisement of the Southern woman.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

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National Headquarters—1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.

COLORS—PURPLE, WHITE AND GOLD

Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.

In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

The Next Session

THE election is over and we turn to the future.

Four United States Senators have been added to the list of those who come from woman suffrage states. Three additional members of the National House of Representatives and seven more electoral votes now come from such states. The women voters demonstrated in unmistakable terms during this election, their deep interest in what Congress does on the suffrage question. Congressmen from suffrage states will never again view the suffrage amendment as one with which they or their party can trifle.

Within a little over three weeks the National Senate and House of Representatives will reassemble for the last session of the 63rd Congress. We turn to this session full of hope that before it closes the suffrage amendment will be through both Houses and on its way to the States for ratification.

Since 1869 women have appealed to Congress for aid in establishing their political freedom. In the early days they asked simply for a declaratory resolution enabling women to vote under the 14th and 15th amendments. Since 1875 however, when it was decided by the Supreme Court in the case of Minor vs. Happersett that the Civil War amendments could not be interpreted as enfranchising women, they have asked for an amendment to the United States Constitution removing the sex barrier to the franchise, just as the race barrier was removed.

This amendment, known in the present Congress as the Bristow-Mondell Resolution, has been before Congress since 1875. Year after year the great suffrage leaders, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and their colleagues, appealed unceasingly for its passage. Now after these many decades we have reached the time when we can look with hope and confidence to the fruition of their labor.

During this Congress, for the first time in the history of our country, the Federal Amendment has been placed on the calendar of both Houses and at the present moment is awaiting a vote. During this Congress it has been debated at length. This is the first time since 1887, that the suffrage amendment has been discussed in Congress. For the first time since 1892 the amendment has received a favorable committee report in the Senate. For the first time since 1896 it has been reported to the House.

During these many years women have faithfully pressed their appeal with little hope of obtaining their end. Now the situation is changed The voting strength of the women in the Wes means a consideration of the demand for an amendment to the National Constitution, for which we could not have hoped in years gone by With the winning of Montana and Nevada, one fourth of the Senate, nearly one-sixth of the House of Representatives and nearly one-fifth of the electoral vote, comes from suffrage states A demand can no longer be denied which is backed by such strength as that.

The Federal Amendment is the short, the direct, the dignified way, to the enfranchisement of all the women in this country. When this amendment is once through Congress. it remains submitted until passed. It would probably be ratified immediately by the eleven suffrage states. The ratification of only twenty-five other states would be necessary, and be it remembered this does not mean ratification by the voting population of the state but merely by a majority vote in the legislature. Some states would undoubtedly refuse ratification but that would merely mean that the question would go before the next legislature. Such an amendment when passed by Congress remains before the states until the ratification by three-fourths of the states has finally been secured. Every step taken in the work for a federal amendment is a permanent step in advance. When our amendment is once through Congress that much is acomplished forever.

We ask the President in his message at the convening of the next session of Congress to give attention to this subject, the most important of any that can possibly confront him. We ask him to recommend to Congress the immediate passage of the Bristow-Mondell resolution. We ask the Democratic Party to redeem the reputation which it made during the last session and do its part in securing the passage of this amendment. This party, be it remembered, retains the same immense majority in the coming session as it held during the past, for the newly elected Congressmen do not go into office until next March. The responsibility for action or inaction this session, as in the last, lies with the Democratic Party as represented by the President, the leaders in Congress and the rank and file in both Houses. The same situation will exist during this session as in the one just ended. No measure can go through which is opposed by the Democratic leaders. Any measure behind which they unite will be passed into law.

But a short time remains before this Congress goes out of existence. We look with hope and confidence to Congress to do its part, immediately on its reconvening, in establishing the political freedom of American women.

Welcome Home to the Campaigners

ON Sunday, November 15th, at half past three, the Washington members of the Congressional Union will welcome home the campaigners who have just returned from the Congressional election fight in the West.

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, a member of the Executive Committee of the Union, will preside at the meeting. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England and Charles Edward Russell, the well known writer, will be among the speakers.

Miss Lola C. Trax was the first campaigner to reach Washington. Miss Trax, who, with Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, was in charge of the Congressional Union battle against Mr. Neeley and the other candidates for Congress on the Democratic ticket from Kansas, returned full of enthusiasm and joy over the result of the campaign.

"This is the most inspiring work that I have ever done," said Miss Trax.

"The Kansas campaign is over," she continued, "and Mr. George Neeley, who dodged his vote on the Bristow-Mondell woman suffrage resolution in the caucus, is defeated in the race for United States Senator. All Kansas knew his suffrage record, and the record of his party, and we believe that this was a strong factor in his failure. Those seven weeks were the biggest seven weeks of my life. We reached 25,000 people through our meetings, 50,000 through our literature, and countless thousands through the newspaper columns. We received approximately eighty press notices per week while we were in the state.

"The Bristow-Mondell woman suffrage resolution is on the map. Every Democratic Congressman returned in Kansas had a greatly reduced majority. The bitterness of the Democratic sheets is a test of the value of our campaign. One of the most important results of our work was the fact that women registered in large numbers. This was the first election that Kansas women had ever voted on national issues, and it is easy to understand that they might not be keenly alive to the situation. We asked them to vote on the issue of woman suffrage, and registration returns indicate a profound interest in the election.

"Mrs. Latimer holds a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor-elect of Kansas, telling us that our campaign really did turn votes. Congressmen, would-be Congressmen and campaign managers before our departure stated their appreciation of the clear-cut policy of the Congressional Union. They told us 'we were on the right track,' and that our campaign in its educational feature was worth more than we could ever know.

"The letter from the Lieutenant-Governor to Mrs. Latimer is as follows:

"'My Dear Mrs. Latimer:

"'Our work together during the campaign was one of the pleasantest features for me. While we did not accomplish the election of our Congressman, you notice we handed a few to Mr. Neeley, and I think your statement in regard to him had much effect on the result.

"'Very truly,

"'W. Y. MORGAN.'"

Each returning campaigner brings the same message. Said Miss Doris Stevens, who was in charge of the Colorado work:

"We have sent out from this headquarters nearly 100,000 pieces of literature, if not more. We have covered every district in the state, and I could almost say every home in Denver. We have held from three to four meetings every day at which we have spoken to thousands of people. We have had scores of people come in and call us up on the 'phone to ask how we wanted them to vote. In each instance we have told them that our duty was to tell them how not to vote.

"The Democratic politicians can no longer say that our policy is poor politics, because since our coming here Bryan, Marshall, Untermeyer and others have come to this state and pursued exactly the same policy in attempting to re-elect Keating, Taylor, Seldomridge, and Hilliard; the only difference being that where we were pointing out a great omission on the part of the administration, they have at great length pointed out the wonderful accomplishments of the administration, and asked that these men be returned, not because of such splendid records, or because of their great worth to the people of Colorado, but simply because they were Democrats. Bryan said: 'The President has more power than any other executive in the world.' This simply backed us up in our contention that if the President wished, he would only have to speak the word and the Federal amendment to enfranchise women would receive attention at the hands of Congress.

"At every Democratic rally we have had our literature given to the people, as they entered the halls, and put throughout the halls in every seat. Although the administration wanted to ignore the women's plea, and insisted that it was not an issue in this campaign, they were forced to recognize that it was an issue and a big one."

Miss Josephine Casey sends word that she is too exhausted by the campaign in Arizona to return in time for the meeting. She has spoken several times every day during the campaign and sends word that she is more enthusiastic than ever about the political work of the Union.

"I hope you are as satisfied with the Arizona campaign as I am," she writes. "Representative Hayden had to return to Arizona to assist Senator Smith. The State Democratic Convention had to put in its platform a plank for national suffrage. The Democrats were undoubtedly greatly worried. Certainly suffrage was made an issue in Arizona. The representatives in Congress from that state must feel, after the demonstration of suffrage interest during this campaign, that suffrage is one of the matters which is of concern to their constituents. This must inevitably produce a marked change in their actions at Washington with regard to the suffrage amendment. We have spoken in every town in Arizona and in almost every mining camp and at every center where ranchers or miners were gathered together. We have distributed thousands and thousands of leaflets. We have had press bulletins printed in papers in even the remotest places."

Miss Virginia Arnold, who has been campaigning in Oregon against the Democratic candidates for Congress from that state, is remaining in Portland to take charge of the permanent headquarters which the Congressional Union has opened in Oregon. Miss Arnold writes:

ADVERTISING THE MEETING AT THE COLUMBIA THEATRE IN WASHINGTON TO WELCOME HOME THE CAMPAIGNERS

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"The campaign is over, and we feel much encouraged by the results in Oregon. National woman suffrage has been made a live political issue in this state. People had almost forgotten, it seemed, that there was such a thing as a federal amendment for woman suffrage. This campaign has awakened a new interest and has made the federal amendment a common topic of the day. The work of organization here bids fair to bring good results.

"At a luncheon given yesterday to Mrs. Stubbs just before her departure, a Congressional Union sustaining committee was formed. Among those on the committee are Mrs. L. W. Therkelsen, Mrs. S. E. Gilbert, Mrs. W. J. Hawkins, one of Portland's prominent club women, Mrs. Emma B. Carroll, Dr. Florence Manion, a prominent Portland physician, and Mrs. A. E. Borthwick, president of the College Equal Suffrage League.

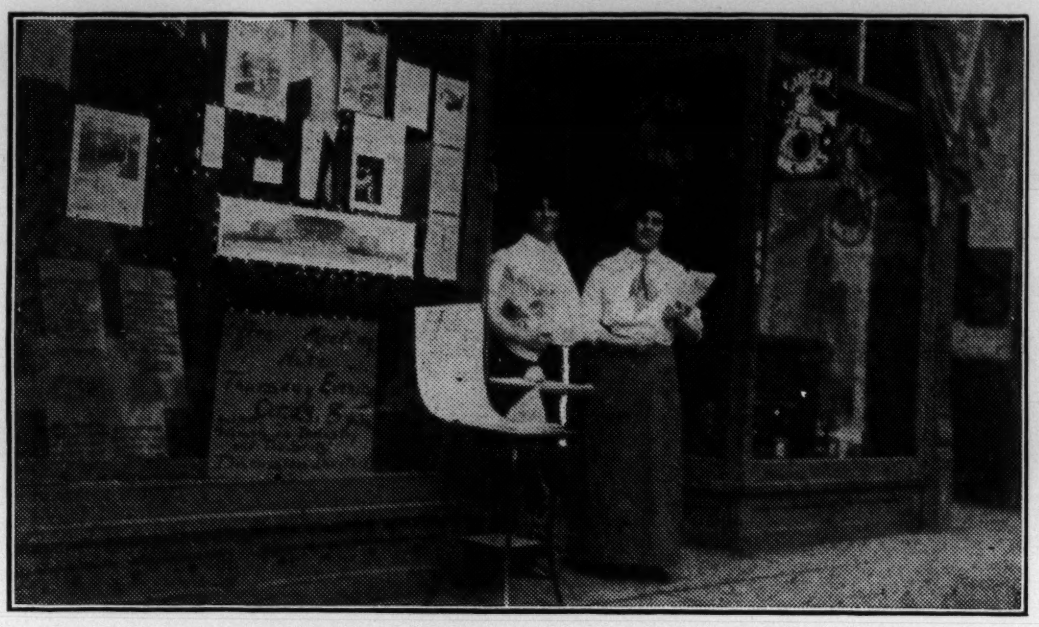
Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs left Oregon immediately after election day. "One would think," she said in telling of the campaign, "that Senator Chamberlain had spent most of his life working for this federal amendment, to hear his speeches and those of his Democratic friends during the campaign. There can be no doubt that suffrage has been made an issue in Oregon.' "

A splendid tribute was paid to Miss Margaret Whittemore, one of the Congressional Union organizers in charge of the campaign in Washington. Shortly before the close of the campaign she was offered a large salary and the payment of all her expenses by one of the political parties if she would join forces with them and become one of their organizers. Miss Whittemore, who worked through the campaign without any salary and paid all of her own expenses, wrote to the National Headquarters of the Union, in Washington, as she left Seattle:

"The Associated Press and the principal papers here all say that our campaign has had a marked effect and that it was a master stroke for the Union to initiate such a line of work. I believe that our campaign has achieved results. I never enjoyed any work so much as this."

Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, who conducted the campaign in Wyoming, left for the East as soon as election returns were in and it was clear that the Democratic candidate had gone down to defeat.

Plans are on foot for continuing the organization now begun among the women voters. The mere presence of such an organization must inevitably have a strong moral effect upon the Congressmen and parties at Washington.



CONGRESSIONAL UNION HEADQUARTERS IN IDAHO

Women a Political Power in Nine States

By Gilson Gardner

THE votes of women evidently played an important part in the recent election. The results of the campaign conducted by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage against the Democratic party in the nine States where women voted are just beginning to be seriously considered by the Democratic politicians.

There were forty-five Democratic candidates in the nine states contesting for seats in the new Senate and House—eight Senatorial candidates and thirty-four would-be Representatives. Of this number, the Democrats succeeded in electing a total of nineteen, while the Republicans and Progressives took twenty-six of these seats. The Democratic representation from these nine states in the present Congress has been sixteen, while the opposition has had twenty-nine seats. This means that the Democrats gained three seats in the nine states in question. At first glance this looks as if the women's campaign had been a failure. But down in their hearts the Democratic managers acknowledge that the campaign was a success.

Looked at in details, the result shows up badly for the Democrats. For instance, in Colorado, it was not until November 7—five days after the election—that Senator Thomas knew he was re-elected by the narrowest kind of a squeak. In this state alone the women's plea for assistance helped in wiping out a Democratic majority of 45,000 votes, Senator Thomas having been elected by that majority in 1912. The Democratic Campaign Committee in Colorado acknowledged the power of the women's influence when it devoted its last campaign circular issued on the eve of the election entirely to the women's campaign and pleaded with the voters to disregard this issue. In addition, the women defeated one of the Democratic Congressmen in Colorado and reduced the majorities of the others.

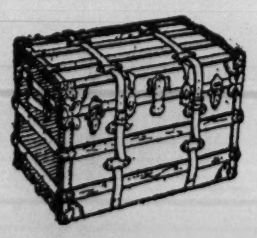
In Oregon, also, the managers for Senator Chamberlain acknowledged the power of the women's vote by devoting the opening paragraphs in their last campaign circular to a plea against the women.

In Arizona, it was not until November 6—four days after the election—that Senator Mark Smith was known to have been elected, so strenuous was the campaign waged against him by the women. In the other States where the women worked the figures showed greatly reduced majorities for the Democrats who were successful, and almost universal defeat for the Democratic candidates who tried to wrest from the Republicans and Progressives the seats which the latter held.

As the returns are completed, it is seen more clearly that the revolt against the Democrats was confined principally to the industrial states of the East, the largest majorities against them being cast in states like New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the New England States. In the states of the Middle West—the farming and grain-growing and cattle-raising states—the Democrats not only held their own, but made gains. This is true of Minnesota, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Nebraska. But when it came to the suffrage states, the women were able to prevent approval of the party, by showing its suffrage record, and asking for the defeat of its candidates on the ground that the party in power had refused consideration of the suffrage amendment.

Not the least important phase of the matter is the question of 1916, the Presidential year. Two more states have been added to the suffrage column—Nevada and Montana—making seven more seats in House and Senate for which women may cast ballots. Montana casts four votes in the electoral college for President, and Nevada three. The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives has been cut to twenty-four, and if the party wishes to retain control of the government, it cannot afford to lose a single vote—woman or man—in these eleven states.

The importance of the situation will be more fully realized by the Democratic politicians when they understand that the wonderful fight which the women made this time was the result of a very short campaign, by only two women organizers in each state, with very little money on which to run the campaign. With two years more in which to prepare for a campaign, the women can absolutely assure Democratic defeat, if that party persists in refusing to allow a vote on the suffrage amendment.



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Christabel Pankhurst Speaks in Washington

Tells of Militant Movement

OTHERS have sown the seed. It falls to you only to do the reaping. Well, then, at least do that. And remember that nothing would further so effectively the cause of international woman suffrage as the passage by your Congress of the national amendment declaring that sex shall not constitute a bar to citizenship. Splendid progress has been made in this country, and it is glorious to know that two more states have just been won, but think how much more glorious would be the recognition of American womanhood by the Congress of the United States, what an impetus it would give to the cause in the countries of Europe where the women watch so eagerly for news from America."

This was the message of Miss Christabel Pankhurst to the suffragists of the United States at the opening tea of the winter, given by the Congressional Union at the National Capital.

The tea was held on Sunday afternoon at the home of Mrs. John Jay White, a member of the Advisory Council of the Union. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Miss Pankhurst were the guests of honor.

So great was the interest that the rooms of Studio House were crowded, the halls filled, and many late comers were regretfully informed that not an inch of avaliable space remained. Miss Pankhurst was introduced by Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, and at the conclusion of her address, while pledges for the support of the work in behalf of the federal amendment were being taken by Miss Paul, spoke again from the stairway to the guests assembled in the rooms below.

Miss Pankhurst herself, girlish and sweet, her rosy little face, mobile features and big brown eyes with a humerous glint that was especially pronounced when she referred to "the militancy that was necessary before America succeeded in convincing Great Britain that taxation without representation was tyranny," and again, "I seem to remember some militancy in the matter of freeing the negroes. Then why not militancy for the sake of white women?" made a delightful and effective personal appeal to her audience. But Miss Pankhurst spoke especially of the present status of the struggle for the franchise in this country.

"Conditions are very different here," she said. "Yours is a new country, mine an old one, and even here you are finding your first successes in the west rather than in the east where the people are more conservative. But you will win; those who are opposed to you are finding that there is no use in fighting against progress, against nature, again God. 'Male and female created he them,' and men are realizing whether they admit it or not, that they cannot succeed in governing wisely or justly without the aid of women. Those countries which are most warlike and brutal are those where men have most power and women are regarded as inferior things. War, we believe, is the outcome of exclusively male government. The love of peace enters where women have their share of power. And not until this love of peace is universal can a nation afford to lay down its arms or cease its preparedness for war.

"Because of this, for the good of men and women, the protection of little children, and the future of the race, women have been fighting in my country. For these things they have been willing to go to prison. And they have no sense of self-sacrifice. Those of us who are working heart and soul for a great cause know that the cause is doing more for us than we can ever do for it.

"Now, for the time being, militancy has ceased in England, because our country is engaged in a life and death struggle, and we feel if England and the allies lose, it would bring misfortune on the whole world—your country as well as ours. Nothing else in the world but such a supreme danger would have induced us to adopt this course. We did not come lightheartedly to militancy, only when every other means had been tried and had failed; and we know it was the right and only course. It was and may be again a mighty force, but for the present we must help the nation in its hour of peril."

Miss Pankhurst referred with feeling to Susan B. Anthony and other great American women "who showed us the way," and paid affectionate tribute to the work for equal suffrage of Miss Paul and Miss Lucy Burns.

"Your country needs your intelligence and your aid," Miss Pankhurst said in concluding. "And we cannot afford to wait. History is beng made today that will change the face of nations. It is not only our right but our duty to take our part in making it."

Among those present were Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, and Lady Spring-Rice; Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, the Charge d'Affaires of Persia; Rear Admiral McGowan, U. S. N., Mrs. McGowan and Miss McGowan; Mr. and Mrs. William Barrett Ridgely, Mrs. George Talbot Odell, Mrs. Robert Hinckley, Mrs. John B. Henderson, Miss Edith Spofford, Miss Janet Richards, Miss Hazel Mackaye, Dr. Nevil Monroe Hopkins and Mrs. Hopkins, and Mrs. Herman E. Gasch.

Over eight hundred dollars was raised for the winter campaign of the Union.

Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Belmont arrived in Washington Saturday afternoon, November 7, en route to Chattanooga to attend the Southern States Suffrage Conference. They were entertained while in Washington by Mrs. Edward Beale McLean, and were the guests in honor of whom a dinner was given Saturday evening by John Barrett, Director General of the Pan American Union.

Suffrage in England

MRS. ALICE PARK, who, although a California woman, is a member of various suffrage organizations in Great Britain and has spent onsiderable time in suffrage work in that country, ends an account of the present condition of the suf- rage movement in great Britain:

"The British and Irish militant women faced a new ituation when England declared war against Ger- nany. Their decisions as to what to do in the emer- ency had to be made by organizations independent f each other. Women had found it impossible to gree on policy and tactics during the nine years of he Suffragette movement, and their organizations epresented every shade of opinion and every degree f protest from petition to arson. Contrary to the nnouncements in the newspapers of the United tates, they did not all turn to nursing and relief ork, though many of them promptly declared their nergies would be used in efforts to relieve distress, articularly of women and children.

"Two organizations stand out conspicuously from he fifty or more leagues of Suffragists and Suffra- ettes. These two are holding firmly to the demand f 'suffrage first.' Even at a time when the nation in peril, when all educational movements are in clipse, and when all other groups of women have een stampeded into relief work—at a time when en have gone to the battlefield—these two organiza- ons raise their voices amid the hubbub and demand otes for women, and demand them now.

"Which are the two organizations which are stand- g, even in time of war, against the government and gainst war? They are the East London Federation f Suffragettes, led by Sylvia Pankhurst, with headquarters in London, and the Irish Woman's Franchise League, led by Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, with headquarters in Dublin. Their papers, *The Dreadnought* and the *Irish Citizen,* appear every week, and, as of old, they declare in the strongest terms their protest against the government and against the war, and their demand for votes for women. They add to their previous arguments the demand for votes in order to vote for peace. They call attention again and again to the great wrong being committed anew against women, in men's declaring war while denying votes to women, and in men's plunging not only themselves but women and children into ruin.

"Sylvia and her followers are as militant in spirit and in act as any or all other militant women, but they have not burned buildings. They have defied the government time and time again, in speeches at the famous Trafalgar Square meetings, in street protests, arrests and hunger and thirst strikes. Everything short of destruction of property has been on their program.

"Ireland, also, as well as England, Scotland, and Wales has all degrees of militancy, and organizations to represent all shades of opinion and all forms of activity. Of these, the Irish Woman's Franchise League, having protested and suffered indignities in and out of prison, stands now for 'suffrage first,' and they expect to win votes before the English women succeed. In fact, they say that the granting of home rule in the past would have been followed by votes for Irish women, and that it has been the Englishman and not the Irishman who denied them their rights.

"Understanding history and politics thoroughly, the Irish Woman's Franchise League and the East London Federation of Suffragettes will continue to raise their voices during the war, and to cry aloud the national need of votes for women. Hannah Sheehy Skeffington says that male statesmanship has made of Europe a universal shambles, and that women should not allow themselves to be used simply to mop up the blood and purify the stench of the slaughterhouse, but that they should clear away the whole rotten system. She calls today not the eclipse of opportunity, but opportunity itself."

Courtesy Phila. North American

Who's Militant Now!

Treasurer's Report

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $50,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OCTOBER 24th THROUGH NOVEMBER 2d, 1914

Miss Charlotte Johnston	$1.00
Miss M. F. Brennan	1.00
Miss Lillian H. Lyon	1.00
Mrs. F. R. Hazard	25.00
Miss Janet Richards	10.00
Miss Cornelia Crans	1.00
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker	50.00
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith	5.00
Mrs. L. M. B. Mitchell	1.00
Mrs. Elizabeth McCalla	10.00
Mrs. John Rogers	10.00
C. S.	2.50
Mrs. Almira Sweeten	2.00
Mrs. S. B. McDuffie	2.00
Philadelphia Congressional Union	70.00
Mrs. J. R. Warbasse	5.00
Mrs. Anne Simons	.25
Miss Marion Page	.50
Miss Katherine Fisher	1.00
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Mrs. Shaemas O'Sheel	1.00
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Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe	.75
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Miss Corliss	1.00
Miss Annie Kinney	1.00
Anonymous	9.00
Miss Anna Burns	25.00
Mrs. Benjamin Keiley	25.00
Mrs. C. B. Wells	25.00
Miss Maude Younger	5.00
Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore	5.00
Mrs. William Kent	75.00
Collections	33.22
Membership fees	17.24
Total	$683.46
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	47,966.44
Total to November 2, 1914	$48,649.90

1000 New Subscribers

MISS RUTH NOYES, who is helping Miss Stevens in the Colorado campaign, writes to Washington headquarters: "Last night we received the Suffragist. It simply thrilled us to read this paper. I think that you certainly are to be congratulated and if we needed anything to make us more zealous this furnishes the incentive. It is wonderful that we have such a paper as our own organ."

Will you not help spread the circulation of our paper so that we may have an ever increasing circle of enthusiastic workers?

MEMBERS WHO HAVE SECURED NEW SUBSCRIBERS

NOV. 1st TO NOV. 11th

(In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

Miss Alice Paul	2
Miss Marie Goucher Greene	2
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	2
Miss Anna McCue	1
Mrs. F. R. Hazard	1
Miss Martha Neilson	2
Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs	2
Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict	2
Mrs. Gertrude Hunter	1
	15
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	354
Total to November 11th	369

New Members

THE Congressional Union election campaign has meant the winning of many members among the women voters. During the week Mrs. F. E. Warren, the wife of Senator Warren of Wyoming, and his daughter, Mrs. J. J. Pershing, the wife of General Pershing, joined the Union at the Wyoming headquarters. Mrs. R. N. La Fontaine, wife of the Mayor of Cheyenne, is another new member.

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